1; Karsten--460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 766 (1928-29)

"Ordinary earth burial is frequently resorted to when women and children die. The burial place may be within the house or outside it, and it is curious that in the former case the rest of the family members continue living there. A grave is for instance simply dug in a corner of the house, or close to one of the walls, and the corpse is placed there in a lying posture, whereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled so that it resembles the rest of the earthen floor. I have frequently visited Indian houses where women or children have been buried in this way, and been able to confirm that the inmates find this arrangement perfectly natural. There seems not to be, in these cases, any fear of the ghost of the dead, probably because the spirits of women and children are never feared to the same extent as the spirits of men, and especially the spirits of old men and medicine-men. Nor was food or drink placed on the graves of the women buried in the house in any of the cases which came under my notice.

In other cases dead women are buried outside, at a short distance from the house. A primitive shelter of thatch is made, resting upon four poles, and the corpse is buried under this.

Lastly, a kind of urn-burial also occurs among the Jibaros, although only for small children. The urns used for this purpose are the big clay pots in which the manioc-beer is kept. The body of the child is placed in the urn in a squatting attitude--that of the foetus in the mother's womb--then it is closed with another smaller flat clay pot.

1: Karsten--460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 766 (1928-29)

Where the clay vessels touch each other is plastered round with clay, so that the urn is hermetically sealed. It is placed on a tripod close to one of the pillars of the house in the same way as the clay pot containing manioc-beer, and in this way the remains of the child are kept for a long time, and then buried. --Whether this urn-burial of small children is connected with any special ideas of rebirth, etc., I cannot say.

No burial is thought of in the case of persons who have been killed in war and whose heads have been carried off by the enemies (p. 292). A dead body is buried above all for the sake of the soul, but the soul of a kinsman killed in war was carried off along with the head. It would therefore be useless to bestow burial upon his body."

2: Stirling--114[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the case of an ordinary warrior the house is not abandoned following the 6-day period after death, but during this time a strongly built small house is erected in the vicinity of the jivaría and the body is placed in it. Here it is fed and attended during the 2-year period in the same manner as described for a curaka."

2: Stirling--114 [3]
116, 766

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The bodies of women are treated in the same manner as those of ordinary warriors, excepting, of course, that the woman's domestic utensils and implements are placed with her instead of weapons."

2: Stirling--114 [4]
116, 766

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"In the event of the death of young children the bodies are placed in a small thatched shelter near or in the clearing without any attendant ceremony. It is believed that children under the age of puberty change into small birds."

25. Vigna--49 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 766

If the deceased is very young, he is placed in a bowl of clay and interred near the beds of his parents, at some few centimeters depth.

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro

766

We found in this house the grave of one of the five wives of the Curaca Laichape: she had hanged herself after her sense of honor had been outraged. The grave was marked by an earthen mound (height: 70 cm.) which had the dimensions of a body. It was close to the wall of the house. I cannot explain the presence of this grave inside the house, for, in general, I have been told by the whites, the Indians give up their house after a person has died and was buried therein.

30: Franco--142 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 555, 766

The warrior who has the greater number of trophies acquires the title 'Cocarama'. Cinctures for adornment in war and in the fiestas only are made with the hair of the tzhantzhas; and the owner never presents it or trusts it to anyone. His relatives bury him with the cincture when there is a lack of tzhantzhas; they do not keep the cincture, in this case, as a sacred remembrance of the valorous relative.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema*. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

754 756 778

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

763 [202] 764 [768]

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

766

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

764 The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split guadua bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

768 When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (*yači* of the 765 deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her 766 shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased [768] head of the household may be buried either below ground or above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large balsa log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (*kanu*), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main center posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

764 Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse 766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment. 766 • 764

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way. [778]

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above. 764

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished. 765 774 [262]

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untá* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 769 774 [701] 766 774

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 774 [778] against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 774 823 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He [276] then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this strategy. One of the unexplained reasons a father helps [593] his known acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s).

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *entsum*, whose soul is not so easily attracted and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visits to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

9. *Muisak* may alternatively be pronounced *wuisja*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered [766] • (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is directed in energetic thoughts to the murderer. Thus the murderer hopes to reach him before the avenging soul can catch him.

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published [114] regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that the contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderstein et al., 1958.

14. The mythological first chicha.

15. This is a halo of *tsuntsuk* analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *tukumeks* which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 44). [789]

16. The *tsuntsuk* are carried by the *tsuntsuk* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 178-80).

CHAPTER V

1. Dawson refers to an incident a dispute over river fishing rights [177] in the Rio Yunguyo neighborhood west of the Rio Upano but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity has already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay.